

HART-TEETER
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-5570

Study 4013page 18

Interviews: 1002 Respondents
Dates: December 8-11, 1990

47 Male
53 Female
[5]

FINAL - 9:00 pm, 12/12/90

Study #4013
NBC News/WSJ
December 1990

AR	TYPE	SA	FORM	December	DAT										
<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>			<table border="1"><tr><td></td></tr></table>		<table border="1"><tr><td>++</td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>	++			<table border="1"><tr><td></td></tr></table>			<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>			199
++															
[6] [7]]	[8]	[9] [10] [11]]	[12]		[13] [14] 1	0									

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Yes.....	10	CONTINUE	[15]
	0		
No.....	-	TERMINATE AND DO NOT COUNT	
Not sure.....	-		

- 2a. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

		10/90	9/90	7/90	5/90	4/90	3/90	1/90	11/8 9	9/89	
Right direction	28	22	45	40	42	47	44	49	41	42	[16] 1
Wrong track	51	59	40	37	38	32	31	29	35	34	
Mixed (VOL)	15	14	10	18	16	13	20	17	19	19	
Not sure	6	5	5	5	4	8	5	5	5	5	

- 2b. Thinking back on the past year, would you say that 1998 was one of the best years for the country as a whole, above average, about average, below average, or one of the worst years for the country as a whole?

One of the best.....	1	[17]
Above average.....	9	
About average.....	3	
	7	
Below average.....	3	
	9	
One of the worst.....	1	
	3	
Not sure.....	1	

2c. And do you think 1991 will be better, ~~the same~~, or worse for the country as a whole?

Better.....	2	[20]
	8	
The same.....	2	
	4	
Worse.....	4	
	1	
Not sure.....	7	

3a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing as president?

		10/30	10/19	9/90	7/90	5/90	4/9	3/9	1/9	11/8	9/89	
		-	-				0	0	0	9		
		31/90	21/90									
Approve...	5	56	59	75	67	72	75	69	71	67	67	[21]
	7											
Disapprov e.....	36	32	32	15	22	21	15	19	19	22	17	
Not sure.	7	12	9	10	11	7	10	12	10	11	16	

3b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling the economy?

		10/90	9/90	7/9	5/9	4/9	3/9	1/9	11/8	9/8	
		-	-	0	0	0	0	0	9	9	
		31/90	21/90								
Approve.....	37	35	52	48	51	59	53	54	52	61	[22]
Disapprove	54	55	36	41	40	30	35	31	33	24	
Not sure...	9	10	12	11	9	11	12	15	15	15	

3c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy?

		10/90	9/90	7/9	5/9	4/9	3/9	1/9	11/8	9/8	
		-	-	0	0	0	0	0	9	9	
		31/90	21/90								
Approve.....	56	63	75	67	67	70	67	69	59	58	[23]
Disapprove	37	30	17	22	25	22	22	21	27	26	
Not sure...	7	7	8	11	8	8	11	10	14	16	

4. In general, do you think President Bush does a better job handling foreign policy or domestic policy? (ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

Foreign policy.....	4	[24]
	7	
Domestic policy.....	2	
	3	
Does both equally well (VOL)...	1	
	1	
Does not do either well (VOL)..	1	
	2	
Not sure.....	7	

5a. Over the past year, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

		10/90	9/90	7/9	5/9	4/90	3/90	1/9	11/89	9/8	
		-	-	0	0						
		31/90	21/90								
Better.....	3	3	6	11	11	12	13	12	15	18	[25]
Worse.....	73	72	57	37	36	30	37	29	34	23	
About the same..	23	24	35	51	52	56	48	57	49	57	
Not sure.....	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	

- 5b. During the next year, do you think the ~~national economy~~ will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

		<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/8</u>	
Better.....	2	13	16	20	22	24	21	22	21	25	[26]
	1										
Worse.....	4	52	49	33	32	29	30	28	33	23	
	5										
About the same....	3	30	26	40	41	42	44	44	39	43	
	0										
Not sure.....	4	5	9	7	5	5	5	6	7	9	

- 6a. I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important issue facing the country? (READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER AND RECORD BELOW UNDER Q.6a.)

			<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>9/89</u>
Inflation.....	1 1	[29]	13	13	8	9	13	12	12
Unemployment.....	2 6		16	22	21	22	20	23	23
Interest rates.....	3		2	3	4	5	5	4	4
The federal budget deficit.....	3 5		43	34	37	35	30	29	32
Federal taxes.....	7		10	5	9	9	7	7	8
The U.S. trade deficit.....	1 1		9	14	14	14	17	18	15
All equally important (VOL)....	6	SKI P TO Q.7 A	6	6	6	4	6	5	4
None is important (VOL).....	-		-	1	-	1	1	-	-
Not sure.....	1		1	2	1	1	1	2	2

- 6b. And which of these is the second most important? (READ REMAINING CHOICES AND RECORD ABOVE UNDER Q.6b.)

			<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>9/89</u>
Inflation.....	19	[30]	18	17	16	17	17	16	14
Unemployment.....	19		16	17	15	13	18	16	15
Interest rates.....	5		6	8	8	7	7	7	7
The federal budget deficit.....	17		15	15	17	16	18	20	19
Federal taxes.....	13		16	10	16	14	12	11	13
The U.S. trade deficit.....	18		21	21	20	25	17	20	22
None is important (VOL).....	-		1	-	1	2	3	3	4
Not sure.....	2		-	3	-	-	-	-	-
No most important issue.....	7		7	9	7	6	8	7	6

(ASK EVERYONE.)

- 7a. Thinking about your personal financial situation in the past year, have you found it to be a period in which you have been cutting down on purchases and other spending, have you been increasing your purchases and other spending during the past year, or has there been little change over the past year?

		<u>10/90</u> *	<u>9/90</u> *	<u>7/90</u> *	<u>5/90</u> *	<u>3/90</u> *	<u>1/90</u>	
Cutting down....	57	55	49	41	41	45	41	[31] J
Increasing.....	10	7	10	14	15	13	16	
Little change....	33	38	41	44	43	42	42	
Not sure/refused.....	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	

- 7b. Thinking about your personal financial situation in the past year, have you found it to be a period in which you have been cutting down on savings and other investments, have you been increasing your savings and other investments during the past year, or has there been little change over the past year?

		<u>10/90</u> *	<u>9/90</u> *	<u>7/90</u> *	<u>5/90</u> *	<u>3/90</u> *	<u>1/90</u>
Cutting down....	36	28	28	25	24	25	29
Increasing.....	17	15	17	21	23	20	23
Little change.....	46	55	54	53	52	54	47
Not sure/refused.....	1	2	1	1	1	1	1

* In March, May, July, September, and October 1990, the question was asked about changes "over the past three months."

- 7c. Here are some things people have done because of their concern about an economic recession. For each one, please tell me whether you have or have not done this. (READ EACH ITEM, ROTATING ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	<u>Have Done</u>	<u>Have Not Done</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Found ways to economize in the things you buy.....	84	16	-	[33]
September 1990	76	23	1	
Changed vacation plans.....	43	56	1	[34]
September 1990	35	64	1	
Tried to put extra money aside.....	64	36	-	[35]
September 1990 *	54	45	1	
Avoided changing jobs.....	47	49	4	[36]
September 1990	38	57	5	
Transferred funds into safer investments.....	30	69	1	[37]
Cut back on luxury items.....	70	29	1	[38]
September 1990	56	43	1	

* In September 1990, this statement read "Tried to save more money than usual."
 [39] [40]

8. Do you plan to spend more money on Christmas shopping this year than you did last year, less money, or about the same amount?

	NBC 11/30- <u>12/1/87</u>	NBC <u>10/87</u> *	
More.....	10	16	11
Less.....	46	28	30
About the same amount.....	44	55	58
Not sure.....	-	1	1

* These percentages are among all adults, rather than registered voters.

9. Which do you think is a better approach for the federal government to take if the U.S. is in a recession--(READ CHOICES SLOWLY)? (START WITH ITEM B ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

A) The government should spend additional funds on things that stimulate economic growth...	24	[42]
B) The government should hold the line on spending so that the deficit will not increase.....	66	
Both equally (VOL).....	4	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

10a. Do you think there will or will not be an economic recession during the next twelve months?

		10/90	9/15- 18/90	9/4- 5/90	8/9	7/9	5/9	4/9	3/9	1/9	
Will be an economic recession....	73	66	51	58	57	25	30	23	30	31	[40]
Will not be an economic recession.....	19	24	35	30	26	49	57	64	56	56	
Not sure.....	8	10	14	12	17	26	13	13	14	13	

10b. Do you think the U.S. is or is not currently in an economic recession?

Is in a recession.....	6	ASK Q.10c-g.	[44]
	5		
Is <u>not</u> in a recession.....	2	SKIP TO	
	7		

Not sure..... 8 Q.11.

**** Questions 10c. through 10g. were based on those people who say the U.S. is in a recession. ****

10c. Who or what do you think is most responsible for the U.S.' being in a recession? (READ LIST. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)

President Bush.....	12	[45]
Democrats in Congress.....	18	
Saddam Hussein.....	6	
The Federal Reserve.....	4	
Banks.....	5	
Oil companies.....	5	
The normal business cycle.	19	
President Reagan (VOL)....	8	
All equally (VOL).....	15	
None of these (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	5	

10d. Has the recession directly affected you and your family, or have you not been affected by it?

Affected.....	5	[46]
	5	
Not affected.....	4	
	5	

Not sure..... -

10e. Do you think the recession is going to be mild or severe?

Mild.....	4	[47]
	5	
Severe.....	3	
	9	
In between (VOL).....	9	
Not sure.....	7	

10f. And how long do you think the recession will last? (READ LIST SLOWLY.)

Less than 3 months.....	2	[50]
3 to 6 months.....	1	
	1	
6 months to a year.....	3	
	4	
More than a year.....	4	
	2	
Not sure.....	1	
	1	

10g. Which of the following statements do you agree with more--(READ STATEMENTS)? (ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER FORM.)

Statement A: The recession is affecting everyone.

Statement B: The recession is really only affecting the middle class and the poor, while the wealthy are not affected.

Statement A.....	2	[51]
	7	
Statement B.....	6	
	9	
Both equally (VOL).....	3	
Neither (VOL).....	1	

Not sure.....

(ASK EVERYONE.)

11. Which party do you think could do a better job of getting the country out of a recession--the Democratic Party or the Republican Party?

		<u>10/90</u>	
Democratic Party.....	33	31	[52]
Republican Party.....	33	36	
Both equally (VOL).....	7	6	
Neither (VOL).....	17	13	
Not sure.....	10	14	

- 12a. Let us suppose the government needed to raise taxes. For each of the following, please tell me if you would favor or oppose raising that tax. (READ ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Raising the capital gains tax rate on the sale of stocks, bonds, and real estate....	51	43	6	[53]
May 1990	49	47	4	
Enacting a 10% surtax on individuals with an income over 1 million dollars....	84	14	2	[54]

- 12b. Would you favor or oppose cutting or taxing Medicare benefits for individuals with an income over \$100,000?

	<u>Favor</u>		<u>[55]</u>
	0		
Oppose.....	2		
	7		
Not sure.....	3		

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about the situation in the Middle East.

- 13a. Do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling the conflict in the Middle East?

		<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/15-18/90</u>	<u>9/4-5/90</u>	<u>8/90</u>	
Approve.....	63	69	78	75	72	[58]
Disapprove.....	31	26	15	18	16	
Not sure.....	6	5	7	7	12	

- 13b. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the United States' sending military forces to Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf?

		<u>9/90</u>	<u>8/90</u>	
Approve.....	63	76	70	[59]
Disapprove.....	33	20	21	
Not sure.....	4	5	9	

- 13c. The cost of maintaining the U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf is about 2 billion dollars per month. Do you feel it is or is not worth the cost?

		<u>10/90</u>	
Worth the cost.....	53	59	[60]
Not worth the cost.....	40	32	
Not sure.....	7	9	

* In October 1990, the cost in the question was given as 1 billion dollars per month.

(FORM A ONLY)

13d. In your own words, what do you feel is the main reason the United States has stationed forces in the Persian Gulf and Saudi Arabia?

(PROBE:) Anything else?

The reason is oil, to protect our interest	37%	[61- 64]
To prevent an aggression, to stop Hussein from taking over other countries	20	
To prevent Hussein from gaining too much power, to stop another Hitler, he is a mad man who wants to control the world	9	
Freedom, peace, stability in the Middle East, to protect people's rights	8	
Economic reasons, to keep inflation, prices down	8	
Don't know/no response	8%	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

14a. I'm going to read you five reasons some people think U.S. troops are in the Persian Gulf and Saudi Arabia. Please tell me which one you think is the single most important reason the United States has stationed troops there. (READ LIST. ROTATE.)

To protect the world's oil supply	3	[65]
To force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait.....	1	
To overthrow Saddam Hussein.....	1	
To free the hostages.....	6	
To protect Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf nations.....	1	
To prevent Iraq from developing nuclear weapons	0	
All equally (VOL).....	9	
None of these (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	2	

(FORM B ONLY)

14b. If President Bush asked you for your advice on the Persian Gulf, what would you tell him?

(PROBE:) Anything else?

Keep it up, doing a great job, agree with his policies	14%	[66- 69]
Get it over with, do it and get out, don't wait	12	
Pull the troops out	11	
Stand firm, don't give in, be strong, hold on tight	6	
Force Hussein out	6	
Kill them, bomb them	6	
Wait, think before attacking, negotiate, be patient	6	
Don't know/no response	14%	

15a. Do you feel that the economic sanctions against Iraq have or have not made a difference?

Have made a difference..	6	10/90	
	5		[72]
Have not made a difference.....	2	26	
Not sure.....	9		
	6	7	

15b. Do you feel that the United States can or cannot achieve its objectives solely through economic sanctions and the blockade?

		<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>8/90</u>	[73]
Can achieve its objectives.....	36	38	45	43	
Cannot achieve its objectives.....	48	45	40	37	
Depends (VOL).....	7	6	4	7	
Not sure.....	9	11	10	13	

- 15c. How long should the U.S. be prepared to wait for sanctions against Iraq to work? (DO NOT READ CHOICES.)

Until January 15, 1991.....	2	[74]
	7	
After the middle of January/through June 1991 (six months or less).....	2	
	3	
July 1991/through the end of 1991 (six months to a year).....	1	
	1	
Anytime in 1992 (one to two years).....	5	
Beyond 1992 (more than two years).....	5	
We have waited too long already (VOL).....	1	
	3	
Not sure.....	1	
	6	

- 15d. Suppose it takes up to two years for the economic sanctions against Iraq to work. Would you favor or oppose keeping 200,000 troops in Saudi Arabia while we were waiting for the sanctions to work?

Favor.....	2	[75]
	4	
Oppose.....	7	
	2	
Not sure.....	4	

- 16a. As you may know, Secretary of State James Baker is going to travel to Iraq soon to meet with Saddam Hussein. Do you think their meeting will or will not make a real difference in resolving the current situation peacefully?

Will make a real difference.....	46	[76]
	1	
Will not make a real difference.....	43	
Not sure.....	11	

- 16b. You may also know that Saddam Hussein recently announced that Iraq will release all of its foreign hostages. Do you think this is a real and sincere effort to find a peaceful solution to the situation in the Persian Gulf, or do you think it is just a public relations gesture to put pressure on the United States not to attack Iraq?

Real and sincere effort.....	15	[77]
	1	
Public relations gesture.....	78	
Not sure.....	7	

- 17a. Do you think the United States will or will not go to war against Iraq?

Will.....	5	[78]
	5	
Will not.....	2	
	8	
Not sure.....	1	
	7	

- 17b. Which of the following do you think will be the ultimate result of our actions in the Middle East: (READ CHOICES)?

	10/90	9/90	8/90	
A) America will have to withdraw without achieving its objectives.....	7	9	8	8 [79]
B) America will achieve its objectives without a shooting war.....	3	34	52	40
	4			
C) America will end up in a war with Iraq.....	5	48	36	42
	0			
Not sure.....	9	9	4	10

18. Do you think President Bush should or should not be required to receive approval from Congress before taking offensive military action against Iraq?

Should.....	7	[80]
	1	

Should not.....	2
	4
Not sure.....	5

19a. When, if ever, do you think active fighting might begin in the Persian Gulf? (READ LIST SLOWLY.)

<u>There will not be active fighting</u>	1	[85]
<u>There will be active fighting</u>	3	
Before the end of the year.....	6	
In January or February 1991....	4	
	5	
Between March and June 1991	1	
	0	
Between July and December 1991.....	3	
After next year.....	2	
Not sure when.....	1	
	1	
<u>Not sure if active fighting</u>	1	
	0	

19b. Would you favor or oppose the U.S.' taking military action against Iraq while there are still U.S. hostages in Iraq and Kuwait?

Favor.....	44	<u>9/90</u>	
		53	[86]
Oppose.....	40	34	
Depends (VOL).....	12	NA	
Not sure.....	4	13	

19c. As you may know, the United Nations recently passed a resolution that permits the use of force against Iraq if it does not withdraw from Kuwait. Would you favor or oppose the U.S.' going to war against Iraq if Iraq does not withdraw its troops from Kuwait by the United Nations' deadline of January 15?

Favor.....	54	<u>[87]</u>	
		34	
Depends (VOL).....	7		
Not sure.....	5		

20. I'm going to mention some things that may or may not happen in the Middle East and for each one, please tell me whether the U.S. should or should not go to war in connection with it. (READ EACH ITEM AND ASK:) Should the U.S. go to war in connection with this, or not? (ROTATE.)

	<u>Should Go To War</u>	<u>Should Not Go To War</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
If Iraq invades Saudi Arabia.....	69	26	5	[88]
If Iraq imprisons or mistreats Americans left in Kuwait.....	55	37	8	[89]
To make sure that Iraq cannot use chemical or biological weapons.....	56	37	7	[90]
If terrorists loyal to Iraq kill Americans anywhere.....	48	44	8	[91]
If other nations refuse to commit significant military forces.....	34	58	8	[92]
To stop Iraq from developing nuclear weapons.....	52	42	6	[93]
If the U.S. develops a major shortage of oil that increases the price of gasoline to over \$2 a gallon.....	19	77	4	[94]
If the U.S. develops a major shortage of oil that threatens an economic recession and closes some of our factories.....	27	68	5	[95]
If any of the hostages are harmed.....	49	44	7	[96]
If Iraq attacks Israel.....	51	41	8	[97]
If military experts estimate that 10,000 American troops could be killed.....	46	41	13	[98]

21. If the United States goes to war against Iraq, do you think the burden of fighting the war will fall unfairly on poor and minority groups, or do you think other groups will bear their fair share of the responsibility?

Burden will fall on poor and minorities.....	4	<u>[104]</u>	
	1		
Other groups will bear their fair share	5		
	0		
Depends (VOL).....	5		
Not sure.....	4		

22. Which statement do you agree with more: (ROTATE ORDER OF CHOICES ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

A).....The U.S. should accept an agreement with Iraq in which Iraq releases of all the hostages and withdraws from Kuwait, with some concessions being made to Iraq on the control of disputed oil fields.

OR

B).....The U.S. should not accept an agreement with concessions, and that after the U.N. deadline of January 15th, the U.S. should use military force to get Iraq to release the hostages and to withdraw from Kuwait.

The U.S. should accept an agreement	5	[105]
	1	
The U.S. should <u>not</u> accept an agreement.....	3	
	9	
Both equally (VOL).....	2	
Neither (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	5	

23. Over the years the United States has had serious diplomatic differences with Cuba, Syria, and China. Do you think the U.S. is or is not justified in putting aside these differences to get these countries to go along with our policies in the Persian Gulf?

Justified.....	6	[106]
	2	
Not justified.....	2	
	6	
Not sure.....	1	
	2	

- 24a. Which statement do you agree with more--(READ STATEMENTS)? (ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

Statement A: After the U.N. deadline of January 15, the United States should continue to wait for the economic sanctions to force Iraq out of Kuwait.

Statement B: After the U.N. deadline of January 15, the United States should take military action to force Iraq out of Kuwait.

Statement A.....	4	[107]
	4	
Statement B.....	4	
	6	
Both equally (VOL).....	3	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	5	

- 24b. Do you think the United States should engage in combat against Iraq even if no other countries do, only if other countries also agree to fight, or don't you think the United States should fight Iraq?

U.S. should fight Iraq alone.....	2	[108]
	8	
U.S. should fight only if other countries also do.....	4	
	4	
U.S. should <u>not</u> fight Iraq.....	1	
	9	
Depends (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	4	

25. If the Iraqis used them first, would you favor or oppose the U.S. using chemical or biological weapons in a war?

Favor.....	3	[109]
	6	
Oppose.....	5	
	9	
Not sure.....	5	

26. How much longer do you expect the U.S. troops to be in Saudi Arabia? (DO NOT READ CHOICES.)

		<u>9/90</u>	
		*	
3 months or less.....	14	7	[112]
3 to 6 months.....	15	12	
6 months to a year.....	23	25	
1 to 3 years.....	21	29	
More than 3 years.....	8	10	
Not sure.....	19	16	

* In September 1990, this question read "How long do you expect the U.S. troops to be in Saudi Arabia?"

27. Do you think the U.S. should or should not keep a military force in the Persian Gulf after the current crisis has been resolved?

Should.....	5	[113]
	5	
Should not.....	4	
	1	
Not sure.....	4	

- 28a. Do you personally and directly know anyone who is currently serving in the U.S. armed forces in the Persian Gulf?

Yes.....	5	[114]
	6	
No.....	4	
	2	
Not sure.....	2	

- 28b. Would you favor or oppose reinstating the draft if the United States goes to war in the Persian Gulf?

Favor.....	5	[115]
	8	
Oppose.....	3	
	8	
Not sure.....	4	

- 28c. Which do you think would be a more important reason for the U.S. to reinstate the draft--(READ STATEMENTS)? (ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

Statement A: To make certain the U.S. has enough troops in the Persian Gulf.

Statement B: To make certain the fighting is fairly shared by all groups in our society.

Statement A.....	3	[116]
	5	
Statement B.....	4	
	6	
Both equally (VOL).....	7	
Neither (VOL).....	9	
Not sure.....	3	

- 28d. If it meant the U.S. had to reinstate the draft as the only way to have sufficient manpower for a war in the Persian Gulf, would you favor or oppose the United States going to war?

Favor.....	4	[117]
	7	
Oppose.....	4	
	4	
Not sure.....	9	

- 28e. If the draft were reinstated, would you favor or oppose giving non-medical exemptions such as student or job deferments, or for economic hardship?

Favor.....	6	[118]
	0	
Oppose.....	3	
	2	
Not sure.....	8	

- 29a. Can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 26, 27 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	9	ASK	[121]
25-26.....	3	Q.29b.	
27-29.....	5	SKIP TO Q.30.	

30-34.....	1
	3
35-39.....	1
	2
40-44.....	1
	1
45-49.....	7
50-54.....	7
55-59.....	8
60-64.....	7
65 and over.....	1
	7
Not sure/refused.....	1

(ASKED ONLY OF RESPONDENTS AGE 18-26.)

29b. If you were drafted, would you be willing or unwilling to serve for two years in the U.S. armed forces?

Willing to serve.....	5	[122]
	3	
Unwilling to serve.....	3	
	8	
Depends (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	3	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

30. If the U.S. needs to reinstate the draft for 18- to 26-year-olds, which policy would you favor the most? (READ LIST.)

Drafting only men.....	2	[123]
	5	
Drafting men and women, but placing only	3	
men in combat positions.....	4	
Drafting men and women and giving them	3	
equal responsibilities.....	7	
Not sure.....	4	

Now, I have a few questions about crime.

**** These questions on crime, 31a, 31b, 32a, 32b, and 33, are embargoed by NBC ****

31a. In thinking about crime, are you more concerned or less concerned about your personal safety now than you were a year ago?

	NBC 11/81	
More concerned.....	59	64
Less concerned.....	9	6
No change (VOL).....	32	29
Not sure.....	-	1

31b. In the past three years, do you think your life has become more dangerous because of crime, less dangerous because of crime, or hasn't it changed?

	NBC 2/85	
More dangerous.....	53	47
Less dangerous.....	3	6
Hasn't changed.....	43	47
Not sure.....	1	-

32a. Have you or your family changed the way you live--such as when or where you shop, or taking security precautions in your home--because of the threat of crime?

Yes, have changed.....	52	ASK Q.32b.	[126]
No, have not changed.....	47	SKIP TO	
Not sure.....	1	Q.33.	

32b. In what ways have you changed the way you live because of the threat of crime? (DO NOT READ CHOICES. ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES.)

Installed a home security system.....	13	[129]
Secured house in other ways, such as double-bolted doors.....	16	
Keep doors locked at all times.....	19	
More afraid, careful about associating with people.....	6	
Do not go out at night, stay at home more.....	17	
More careful, take precautions.....	22	
Other (VOL).....	6	
Bought a gun (VOL).....	1	
Bought a dog (VOL).....	1	
Leave lights on (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	-	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

33. Have you or someone in your family been a victim of crime during the past three years?

		NBC	
		2/85	
Yes.....	31	26	[130]
No.....	69	73	
Not sure.....	-	1	

Now, I have a just a few other questions.

34. Do you think there should or should not be a limit on the number of terms to which a senator or member of Congress can be elected?

		10/90	1/90	
Yes, there should be a limit.....	74	72	67	[131]
No there should not be a limit....	22	24	28	
Not sure.....	4	4	5	

35. Would you favor or oppose public financing of congressional elections?

Favor.....	3	[132]
	8	
Oppose.....	5	
	5	
Not sure.....	7	

36a. How much attention have you been paying to the Senate Ethics Committee hearings for the so-called "Keating Five"--a great deal of attention, quite a bit, just some, very little, or none at all?

A great deal.....	1	ASK	[133]
	0	Q.36b.	
Quite a bit.....	1		
	6		
Just some	2		
	3		
Very little.....	2		
	6		
None at all.....	2	SKIP TO	
	3		
Not sure.....	2	FACTUALS	

(ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO HAVE PAID ANY ATTENTION TO THE HEARINGS.)

36b. Thinking about the kinds of ethical violations the "Keating Five" are accused of, would you say this is typical or not typical of the behavior of senators and members of Congress?

Typical.....	7	[134]
	1	
Not typical.....	1	
	9	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1988 presidential election? (IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, or Michael Dukakis, the Democrat?

Didn't vote.....	1	[135]
	0	
Voted for George Bush.....	5	
	1	
Voted for Michael Dukakis.....	3	
	2	
Other candidate (VOL).....	1	
Too young (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

F2. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")

Strong Democrat.....	1	[138]
	9	
Not strong Democrat.....	1	
	4	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	9	
Strictly Independent.....	1	
	9	
Independent/lean Republican.....	9	
Not strong Republican.....	1	
	2	
Strong Republican.....	1	
	4	
Other.....	2	
Refused.....	1	
Don't know/nothing.....	1	

F3. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?

Very liberal.....	7	[139]
Somewhat liberal.....	1	
	7	
Moderate.....	3	
	3	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	3	
Very conservative.....	1	
	1	
No thoughts.....	8	
Not sure.....	1	

F4. Do you have any children who are 16 to 26 years old? (IF YES, ASK:) Are they boys or girls?

<u>No children 16 to 26 years old.....</u>	7	[140]
	5	
<u>Yes, children 16 to 26</u>		
Boys.....	1	
	0	
Girls.....	8	
Both boys and girls.....	7	
Refused.....	-	

F5. What is the last grade you completed in school?

Grade school.....	2	[141]
Some high school.....	8	
High school graduate.....	3	
	0	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	8	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	1	
	0	
4-year college/Bachelor's degree.....	1	
	8	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	2	
2-3 years postgraduate work, Master's degree.....	8	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	3	
Not sure.....	1	

F6. What type of work do you do? (WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW.)

JOB DESCRIPTION: _____

Professional/manager.....	1
	9
White collar worker.....	3
	0
Blue collar worker.....	2
	1
Farmer.....	1
Student.....	3
Homemaker.....	6
Retired.....	1
	8
Unemployed.....	2
Never worked/not sure.....	-

F7. Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	1	[145]
	3	
Labor union household.....	7	
Non-union household.....	7	
	9	
Not sure.....	1	

F8. What is your marital status--are you single and never married, married, separated, divorced, or widowed?

Single.....	1	[146]
	9	
Married.....	6	
	2	
Separated.....	1	
Divorced.....	8	
Widowed.....	9	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F9. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	4	[147]
	3	
Catholic.....	2	
	9	
Jewish.....	3	
Other.....	2	
	0	
None.....	4	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F10. What is the best way to describe the area where you live? (READ LIST.)

Large city.....	2	[148]
	0	
Suburban area.....	2	
	3	
Medium or small city.....	2	
	1	
Small town.....	2	
	0	
Rural area.....	1	
	4	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F11. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	8	[149]
	3	
Black.....	1	
	0	
Hispanic.....	4	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	1	

Not sure/refused..... 1

F12. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than \$75,000?

Less than \$10,000.....	8	[152]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	3	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	8	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	6	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	2	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	3	
More than \$75,000.....	8	
Not sure/refused.....	1	
	2	

- F13. This survey is being conducted as part of continuing coverage of national issues by NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. A few reporters assigned to this story will be calling back a selected number of participants to get additional insights. Would you have any objection to being contacted?

Do not object.....	8	[153]
	4	
Object--do not call.....	1	
	6	

May we please have your name and the town in which you live for validation purposes?

RESPONDENT'S NAME:

Mr./Mrs./Ms./Miss _____
(circle one)

Town: _____

RECORD THE FOLLOWING--DO NOT ASK!

TELEPHONE #: _____
(Area Code)

Length of Interview:

10 minutes or less.....	-	[154]
11 to 15 minutes.....	5	
16 to 20 minutes.....	2	
	3	
21 to 25 minutes.....	3	
	1	
26 to 30 minutes.....	2	
	8	
31 to 35 minutes.....	8	
More than 35 minutes.....	5	

Call Attempt:

First call.....	9	[155]
	2	
Second call.....	6	
Third call.....	2	

Interview began: : a.m. p.m. Interview ended: : a.m. p.m.
(circle) (circle)

THIS IS A BONA FIDE INTERVIEW AND HAS BEEN OBTAINED

ACCORDING TO MY AGREEMENT WITH HART-TEETER

Interviewer's Name _____ (PLEASE
SIGN): ~~~~~

Validated _____ By: ~~~~~ Date: ~~~~~